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ABSTRACT

This report is one of a series intended primarily for those engaged in or preparing for educational planning and administration (especially in developing countries) and for those government officials and civic leaders seeking a more general understanding of educational planning and its role in overall national development. In this booklet, the author examines the effects of development politics on the processes and responsibilities of educational planning. He argues that the political nature of education plans in developing nations places the planner in a dilemma. According to the author, if a planner adheres strictly to the ideals of education as a means for developing social equality and human potential, he becomes politically ineffective. On the other hand, the author contends, the planner without ideals can find himself used mainly as a propagandist and a technician by the government of the day. The author feels that the task facing planners is that of balancing what is best with educational standards that are suited to the social and economic needs of the country in keeping with what is possible at the time and with the resources available. (Author/JH)

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The politics of educational planning in developing countries

C. D. Rowley

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Fundamentals of educational planning

The booklets in this series are written primarily for two groups: those engaged in—or preparing for—educational planning and administration, especially in developing countries; and others, less specialized, such as senior government officials and civic leaders, who seek a more general understanding of educational planning and of how it can be of help to over-all national development. They are devised to be of use either for private study or in formal training programmes.

The modern conception of educational planning has attracted specialists from many disciplines. Each of them tends to see planning rather differently. The purpose of some of the booklets is to help these people explain their particular points of view to one another and to the younger men and women who are being trained to replace them some day. But behind this diversity there is a new and growing unity. Specialists and administrators in developing countries are coming to accept certain basic principles and practices that owe something to the separate disciplines but are yet a unique contribution to knowledge by a body of pioneers who have had to attack together educational problems more urgent and difficult than any the world had ever known. So other booklets in the series represent this common experience, and provide in short compass some of the best available ideas and experience concerning selected aspects of educational planning.

Since readers will vary so widely in their backgrounds, the authors have been given the difficult task of introducing their subjects from the beginning, explaining technical terms that may be commonplace to some but a mystery to others, and yet adhering to scholarly standards and never writing down to their readers, who, except in some particular speciality, are in no sense unsophisticated. This

approach has the advantage that it makes the booklets intelligible to the general reader.

Although the series, under the general editorship of Dr. C. E. Beeby of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research in Wellington, has been planned on a definite pattern, no attempt has been made to avoid differences, or even contradictions, in the views expressed by the authors. It would be premature, in the Institute's view, to lay down a neat and tidy official doctrine in this new and rapidly evolving field of knowledge and practice. Thus, while the views are the responsibility of the authors, and may not always be shared by Unesco or the Institute, they are believed to warrant attention in the international market-place of ideas. In short, this seems the appropriate moment to make visible a cross-section of the opinions of authorities whose combined experience covers many disciplines and a high proportion of the countries of the world.

Foreword

To the senior educational administrator, struggling daily to clear his desk, there has always been a faint air of unreality about some of the publications on educational planning that have appeared over the past decade, because they ignore almost completely the political problems that form the hard core of the most difficult documents that clutter his 'In' tray. He envies the specialist, whether economist, sociologist, or educational theorist, who can maintain a professional clarity of thought by dismissing in a footnote all problems that are not of his own choosing—'There are, of course, political considerations in this issue, but they are not our concern here.' While recognizing that this may, in the end, be the best way for the academic disciplines to make their contribution to his task, the administrator is ruefully aware that he, alone of all the people in planning, cannot permit himself to ignore *any* consideration that might be relevant to the decisions of his Minister. However grateful he may be for the new techniques and the fresh insights provided by the experts in planning, he knows that, at the last moment, the most elegant of plans can founder on a shrewd politician's conviction that 'the public just wouldn't stand for it'.

So administrators will welcome Professor Rowley's blunt statement that 'every educational plan is a political document', and that it is not good enough for the planner to 'regard "political interference" as some unwarranted interruption of his work'. There might be more room for discussion on his further contention that 'unless the educational planner is to be a mere technician executing political decisions, he must react politically to political pressures', but that would probably arise only because, after years of argument, we have never quite

agreed who, in a ministry, should be referred to as *the* educational planner. Certainly, no top-level administrator, particularly in a new country, will deny that political factors have played a part in the formulating of the plan he finally submits to the government; the plan wouldn't work if they hadn't. One can only hope that he constantly bears in mind the author's sombre warning that 'this, of course, involves moral risks'.

C.D. Rowley is well qualified to be a guide through the political complexities that surround the educational planner, particularly in a developing country. He is now Professor of Political Studies in the University of Papua and New Guinea, and for many years was Principal of the Australian School of Public Administration. He was later in charge of a major project for the Social Science Research Council of Australia on the place of the Aboriginal minority in the Australian economy; three volumes on that project are now in the press. In 1960 he was a consultant to the International Labour Office on trade union education, and in 1954-55 made an extensive survey for Unesco and the International Labour Office on adult and worker's education in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, the Philippines and Indonesia; his *The Lotus and the Dynamo* resulted from that assignment. His other publications include *Australians in German New Guinea* and *The New Guinea Villager*.

C.E. BEEBY
General editor of the series

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1. Introduction: politics and education

'Educational' in this work refers to organized activity which promotes learning, or which is involved in the construction of learning situations.

Writers on the politics of development have paid a good deal of attention to the effects of education and educational planning on development. This discussion is primarily concerned with the effects of development politics on the processes and responsibilities of educational planning.

I cannot pretend to more than a superficial knowledge of the expert literature on educational planning. But I think there is validity in my impression that it is mainly the work of educators from countries with advanced secular systems of education. In such countries the educationist may be cushioned against the effects of inadequate resources within the walls of the institution of higher education. In the traditionally free atmosphere of the lecture and tutorial he and his students may pursue ideals, based on belief in the universality of human needs and interests, without having to consider the limitations involved in the competition for power, influence and authority. This booklet is concerned with such limitations.

Educational planning is here considered in the context of developing countries where political and administrative decisions must take into account the clash between traditional and modern (western) systems of education and socialization. The clash reflects the more fundamental conflict between western and traditional political and economic systems—a conflict which, as social change progresses, affects the daily activities and interests of increasing numbers of individuals, so that individual dilemmas reflect those within the political-economic system as a whole. These contradictions within the nation, and the

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national ideologies through which the leaders attempt to resolve them, may be internalized in the minds of individual people; and their ambivalence, their frustrations, the distance between aspiration and reality, and consequent emotional reactions, add to the difficulties faced by the educational planner.

The education system in a developing country offers to some people but not others a scarce resource of high value. It is also a means of mobilising the villagers round the leadership of the central government—a process without which the new nation cannot operate effectively as a modern state. The system of education is an instrument of power and a foundation for the authority of the state.

Politics involve the use and the regulation of power, influence and authority, especially in the allocation of 'goods'—the things which people want. No group of people could live together for long without effective controls over power. Rules have to be made and made known. In the nation state there must be some accepted machinery for legislation. The rules must be applied; and this requires executive machinery. Disputes about what the rules mean, and the need to decide whether they have been broken, and if so how to punish the rule-breakers, require the setting up of a judicial system and cour s. In all three areas of government the decisions are made by hierarchies of persons organised into institutions which exert the authority of the government as a whole. Authority is a social relationship between, on the one hand, the official of the institution, or the institution as a continuing instrument of government, or the government as a whole, and on the other hand, the citizen of the national state, which leads to obedience by the citizen. Where willing obedience is withheld by the citizen, a government must depend on power to retain control. In the concept of power there is always the implication of sufficient force at the disposal of the person or institution wielding it to compel the necessary obedience. But in the complex and extensive nation state such reserves of force are expensive. Moreover, even highly organised force depends on the coherence and obedience to government of institutions such as police and army units, within which, in turn, obedience by juniors depends on their concession of authority—the right to command—to the leaders who give the orders. Persuasion is therefore used by government to ensure obedience and maintain its authority.

Authority is a relationship at the very core of a political system—one in which men obey because they believe it proper to do so. The

world system into which the developing nations are moving is made up of national governments which in general assert, and are conceded by their member citizens, sovereign authority to make the ultimate decisions in matters of life and death. But the national governments are themselves not subject to effective restraints resting on the concession of general political authority. Restraints may be effected through co-operation between governments, or by the power of one or more of them.

At the risk of stating the obvious—in a world so organised, the ideal of an education system being properly devoted to the development of universalistic morality and attitudes, and to the welfare of mankind as a whole, will inevitably be subordinated to the national interest as interpreted by the national government. One of the main functions of the national education system will be to confirm the authority of the government of the day. 'Respect for law and order' means respect for decisions of office bearers—whether politically chosen or elected, or holding offices in government.

Without concession of authority, and the recognition of certain offices and the manner of attaining them as legitimate, the political system breaks down; and the prime concern of the leaders in or after such a revolution must be to set up new or reorganised institutions which have authority. Among the developing nations which have come out of the colonial system, this preoccupation with the establishment of authority is inevitably most marked. The educational institutions in such a nation do not exist in a political vacuum, but will be regarded by government (which has to govern, i.e., gain or retain authority) partly, at least, as means to political ends.

Only in short periods of history, and in the specially favoured situation of some national systems, has it been possible to imagine that education may be divorced from politics. Obviously, the nation must be rich enough so that individuals can obtain the education they or their families want. For some time in some western countries the structure of the legislature, the relationships between offices of the civil service, and the slow rate of change in the laws—reflecting the stability of the society—made it possible (though erroneous) to conceive of politics, with its conflicts of interest, as separate from the institutions of administration, including those concerned with the administration of the national system of public education. People from nation states which have had such stable political systems, with strongly entrenched constitutions legitimising the offices of govern-

ment, are likely to be susceptible to this illusion which is especially misleading where the laws are in a state of flux, and the offices of government new, tentative and lacking in the authority which must depend largely on effluxion of time and the formation of habits (it is a dangerous illusion for the educational planner working in a new nation). Today in the wealthy and developed nations, this period of stability is drawing to a close, and the problems of the national education systems provide more and more the material for political conflict, with the students of the tertiary institutions in the van of the new questioning. In the developing countries the trend is to politicise the secondary schools as well.

The bureaucracy which administers the education services, especially in a developing country, is very much the instrument of political as well as educational decisions. For the decisions reflect the dominance of certain pressure and interest groups over others, whether they are concerned with the content of education courses or with who gets them, how they get them, and when. Education, then, is a reflection of the political system of a nation, and always to some extent the instrument of the national government. Its shape and purposes will be determined not only in the conflict which results in legislation, but also by the competition for power, influence and authority between the legislature and the bureaucracy; between political parties; within the dominant party, and within the bureaucracy.

I am referring here mainly to nations which have set out to modernise their political systems. In many folk societies, education stayed as a family matter; but even there it served to socialise (or politicise) the individual, so that he accepted the power relationships on which the society was assumed to depend. Formalised and literate education served the same purpose. Formal education was first provided as an activity of the major religions. In both cases an important part of the education of the young person involved the propitiation of supernatural forces in order to conserve the society and the environment.

A complicating factor in the politics of education is, of course, the clash between the demands of a modernising educational system and a traditional religious educational system. The clash may be no less real where the religious system offering organised education has been introduced with colonial government, where the Christian missions may also operate to some extent as instruments of modernity. They may clash with the educational efforts of older literate religious

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systems. In some countries where modernisation is in full career, special difficulties may arise because the government regards itself as the conserver of a particular religion (i.e. Catholic Christianity, Islam) through the education system. But educational planning for modernisation is by definition a secular activity, constituting a break with an apparently safe tradition. Instead of providing non-material interests in a rapidly changing and uncertain world, it involves the commitment of the young to changes in material living standards—to citizenship of a nation with an uncertain future. For it helps to increase appreciation of material goods, while the economic future cannot, except within the broadest limits, be predicted by government or by the planners.

Some attempt has to be made. The alternative is to reject the need for modernisation which the masses in developing nations demand. The governments must attempt change in order to retain authority.

Educational planning is therefore a central political activity. In a developing country, where the educational plan is a vital part of the national plan for economic development, how can it be otherwise? How may economic development, for instance, be planned without planning for trained manpower from the educational system; or national support for the plan be won or the plan be feasible without planned educational activity? Can one imagine a government which does not set the political objectives of the plan—taking into account the national interest, and its own survival? Relationships of government to people, of citizen to citizen, of the nation to other nations, will be affected by the educational activity planned and implemented.

The educational planner, then, can hardly be content with the construction of an ideal plan, based only or even mainly on what education ought to be. The planner has to accept the political facts (which will be highly variable through time and from one country to another) as the foundations on which to build. He must also look with a critical eye at the educational aims stated in the national plan. Educational planning as a highly political activity may with justice be described, like politics, as the 'art of the possible'. On the other hand the planner is primarily an educator. Therefore he must be prepared to question the principles on which the political and economic planners have operated—or their lack of principle. His special responsibility is to do what he can to prepare people, and especially the young, for an unpredictable future. The values espoused by Unesco accord with this requirement, since the best possible educational preparation is the

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development of the free intellect, the acquisition of accurate information, and of skills, both manual and intellectual, for control of the environment. He should not for a moment lose sight of the most fundamental part of welfare—the capacity and the confidence of men and women to decide what they want, and to work together to change the natural and social environment to get it. As the flowering of human potential, education, unlike economic or political development, is an end in itself.

But, conceding these principles and values, and that planning must always express them, it is also part of statesmanship. It requires understanding of the political process, and some capacity to influence it; and a readiness to use the necessary means to secure the highest possible degree of humane development of educational activities through, or in spite of, the established political system. In this situation a blind commitment to 'politics of ultimate ends' expressed in the ideal plan may only result in the disappearance of the planner from his job, and of his educational plan from the national plan. In a developing country a grasp of the background of social change seems essential, and the would-be planner should prepare himself for this, especially if he is not himself the product of a similar social environment.

The pointlessness of planning without detailed knowledge of political factors in the environment where the plan must operate is obvious, but has at times been overlooked. Clearly, the policies and the philosophy of the government must be taken into account. If these are against his principles as an educationist, the planner may, like Socrates, pay the price of defiance, or change his employment. His decision is, of course, a matter of conscience: whether he should accept a compromise for immediate educational gains may involve a conflict between moral principle based on abstract ideals and the practical needs of the people.

His decision thus resembles those constantly faced by the active politician, who must reconcile morality with what Weber has called the 'ethic of responsibility'. Like the successful politician, the educational planner who wants his work to be effective 'has to realise these ethical paradoxes. He must know that he is responsible for what may become of himself under the impact of these paradoxes'. For ultimately the educational plan is enforceable by the threat of violence at the disposal of the government. 'He who seeks the salvation of the soul, of his own and others, should not seek it along the avenue of politics, for the quite different tasks of politics can only be solved by

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violence...Everything that is striven for through political action operating with violent means and following an ethic of responsibility endangers the "salvation of the soul". If, however, one chases after the ultimate good in a war of beliefs, following a pure ethic of ultimate ends, then the goals may be damaged and discredited for generations, because responsibility for *consequences* is lacking'.[1]

A paradox faces the planner in that any educational plan will be the object of the pressures, and its implementation subject to the conflicts, of all the individuals and groups affected. There are those who have their own axes to grind, whose living standards depend on the education plan. Some will have other uses for the money it will cost. There are the organizations with special interests in education, such as employers, teachers, religious bodies, linguistic and regional interests, those likely to be taxed, and so on. To leave behind a plan which has the distant blessing of an employing international agency and the authority of the planning expert, and which is likely to be torn to pieces or relegated in these conflicts of interest, is surely to forsake what Weber has called 'responsibility for consequences'.

Like the politician, then, the educational planner may fairly be judged by the consequences of what he does. He cannot avoid this responsibility and hope to be judged as the author of a clever and attractive document. Part of the planning process must be to associate the conflicting interests in the activities of planning, to assess what is possible as well as desirable. A successful planner may go further. He may, by skilful negotiation, make possible certain advances in the education system which but for his efforts would have been ruled out by political opposition. Thus he is not only a back room operator. The document which bears his influence is very different from an academic achievement. If he plays the political part of his role successfully, it will almost certainly embody those compromises which will lead to its implementation. Continuous discussion with the conflicting interest groups may be maintained as part of the planning.

This, of course, involves moral risks. Too much deference to one or other interest may result in a plan which is less satisfactory by the standards of the educator than it was possible, under the circumstances, to make it. But to refuse this risk is to run the greater one of wasting one's time, the resources of one's employing agency, and those of the developing country.

1. Max Weber, 'Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft', translated by Michael Curtis, in *The Great Political Theories*, New York, Avon, Vol. 2, p. 377.

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2. The development milieu—and educational planning

As educational facilities are scarce resources of high value, planning to extend them must operate in a highly sensitive political area, with competition between classes, areas, and language groups. Thus even the language of tuition is a question of high political import.

In a region where traditional education is still operative and dominant, the establishment of a primary school will reinforce the impact of the extending cash economy and central administration on traditional ways of living. Members of the community tend increasingly to neglect community services and assistance to kindred or other persons with traditional claims on them, and to require that such services be recompensed with cash payments. The concept of service as a duty declines. The reverse aspect of this process is the growing involvement in the money economy.The establishment of a school in such a locality may appear as a commitment on the part of the government (or, where relevant, of the Christian mission or some other private body) to provide a road into the westernized cash economy.

Thus in one area in New Guinea, a group of villagers, on the establishment of the first school, decided that some of the children should attend and learn the techniques necessary to support commercial and productive enterprises for money, while others should continue indigenous education, learning the methods of subsistence gardening, the rituals necessary for 'garden magic', and acquiring other practical and esoteric knowledge of the kind necessary for initiation. Obviously the decision involved an act of faith in a commitment by the educational authority to open up through the school a new way of making a living for those who went there.[1] This assumption of commitment, in what was a comparatively unsophisticated area, is common where the people have high degrees of sophistication. Thus the existence of increasing numbers of primary-school leavers who neither find employment nor win places in secondary schools, will be regarded as a breach of faith on the part of the educational authority—and of the government. Whatever the purpose of the education system may be, this reaction arises from the purposes of the parents in sending their children to school. The government will have other than economic

1. Personal information from Professor Peter Lawrence. See his 'The Background to Educational Development in Papua and New Guinea' in *South Pacific*, Jan.-Feb. 1959, pp. 52-60.

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purposes in its educational policy—for example, promotion of the national ideology, and development of the requirements for national citizenship. But the prime purpose of the parents will be economic—to ensure employment for their children in the money economy.

It is obvious that, even if compulsory primary education were possible in all these situations, it would tend to exacerbate rather than to ameliorate this situation by greatly increasing the numbers of primary-school leavers seeking employment.

Therefore, the question must be considered of whether the classroom is the most effective first step in introducing a traditional village community into the developing economy and polity. Long ago, W.A. Lewis and others argued that in such circumstances extension education, which leads directly to higher economic returns from traditional methods of production, is to be preferred to a few years of literacy with inadequate reading material and comparatively small prospects of attainment adequate to earn a regular cash income. However, the developing nation generally has an elite of influential intellectuals some of whom may have developed the revolutionary ideologies and played active roles in establishing the new nation. Where intellectuals have a profound influence on policies, and especially on educational policies, universal schooling generally has a high priority, irrespective of the risks, and can be supported on grounds of equality of citizens. It also meets a growing demand. As the old way of life fails to satisfy increasing aspirations, traditional education comes to be rejected.

Almost axiomatic in government policies is the assumption that 'the people' demand higher material living standards, and wherever social change is in train, so they do. To meet this demand, to achieve balance in the import-export trade, and to provide higher living standards from the country's own resources, the economic emphasis is on industrialization. Support of the masses can be safely assumed, for awareness of and mobilization to central government goes hand in hand with new demands arising from contact with the products distributed only through the cash economy. In the background, the contrast of indigenous material living standards with those of European and Asian settlers, especially in the later years of the colonial period, provided a powerful impetus, in most developing areas, for the transition to independence. After independence, the leaders are entrapped in the expectations of their followers. Demand for welfare services and for wage employment (which may be met only by expansion of

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the cash economy) forms a major political factor. It tends to set limits within which educational planning must operate.

The decision-makers are thus caught in the aftermath of pre-independence promises. Political ideologies led people to expect better conditions in the post-colonial era. But independence often brought a break with investors in the former metropolitan power. The tendency in rich countries to create their own expanding internal markets frustrates hopes of private investment from these sources.

Whatever is to be said for and against colonialism, in many cases an economic nexus, which had formed the basis for the western-style cash economy, had been cut; and the new economy had to be reconstructed. There remained a dependent type of cash economy which was peculiarly complementary to that of the former metropolitan country. Often the factories on which the system of production had depended were in that country, while the former colony was left on the whole with the infrastructure for export of raw materials and import of manufactures. Typical of this colonial orientation is that the main urban developments are at the sea ports, and the communications system is geared to the import-export trade. The economic aftermath of colonialism, almost inevitably, is 'neo-colonialism'.

Social services developed before and after independence play their part in rapid population increases. They may greatly increase the average number of children per nuclear family, and the number of dependants on breadwinners, housing and other facilities. The demand for all services, and for education especially, is drastically increased just at the time when the governments, for policy reasons, attempt universal education. These changes bring rapid increases in urban population, especially at the centres of government, without any corresponding industrial development. But to concentrate educational and other services in the expanding urban area increases interregional tensions. It may also increase the urban population by attracting more families from the rural areas.

For these and other reasons planned development is essential, and most developing nations have comprehensive development plans. The economic emphasis in these plans is supported by the people who in the main expect economic growth. The educational plan will be part of the whole plan, involving the allied matters of manpower allocation, systems of on-the-job training, and development of technical-training institutions. But the plan is only the context and setting for political competition. This will be concerned with the allo-

cation of the resources, with 'who gets what, when and how?' It will also be seen in the competition for power and influence between the ministries or departments of government; and within the ministry or department responsible for education. There will be competition between the institutions of higher education. The political parties will use the system of education for their own purposes as far as possible. The party in power will generally try to ensure that the educational programmes promote its own ideology—in new nations this is usually one of revolutionary changes. Governments completely committed to particular doctrines of history and social change will use the system to ensure complete acceptance of what they proclaim to be basic truth.

In this context, the political limitations on the possibilities of educational planning are clear.

The end of colonial administration cleared the way for accelerated and largely unpredictable social and political changes. Colonial rule in some areas had brought to a close centuries of comparatively stable and static political systems. The boundaries and rulers might change rapidly but the political styles and systems did not. The non-western state had been typically based on the administrative control and economic management of numerous folk and kinship-oriented village societies. The economic management and taxation of villages had provided the economic resources of central government. In return, central government had provided security and, in some areas, basic services such as water control, communications, extra-village law enforcement, and the like.

Elsewhere, as in parts of Africa and the Pacific and in the highlands of south-east Asia, millions of people had, prior to colonization, lived in stateless village societies. To the extent that they were brought into the ambit of effective colonial administration, these societies were included, some for the first time, others perhaps more consistently than before, within what have now become national boundaries. The boundaries, the system of area administration, the infrastructure of the cash economy, all activities and instrumentalities of centralised government, even the language of central government and education, have come from the experience of colonization.

In both types of pre-colonial situation, the decisions of government, whether by the emperor in his court, or by the acephalous political operation typical, for example, in Melanesia, were primarily concerned with conservation of the society and its environment. The colonial experience resulted in the long run in a profound questioning of

the values of conservation. For the whole rationale of western industrialism promotes scepticism of basic assumptions. The conflict between traditional and modern-western processes of education and socialization forms part of a fundamental reassessment of values, ways of living, and of earning a living. The drift from exchange of personal services to cash rewards in both inter-personal and labour relations, the breaking down of the extended family, the partial replacement of family security by social security, and of charity by the generally inadequate social services, the partial commercialization of land tenure systems—with consequent social upheavals—the undermining of ascriptive status and the evolution of status based on performance and western education, all create special stresses at the very base of the political system. The reactions to this deep disturbance have been given a specially virulent twist by experience of racial discrimination in the plural societies of the recent colonial past.

Much has been written in the last decade of this phenomenon—defined as 'modernization', 'development' etc. Changes are often described as a 'transition' from the 'underdeveloped' to the 'developed' polity and economy. Without begging the question of where the complicated processes of social change may lead in particular cases, it is obvious that many national governments have set the goal of rapid industrialization. Some governments have endeavoured to compromise with conservatism by embodying idealized versions of the traditional village—or religious—values, in the national ideology—as in Pantja Sila (Indonesia), Ujaama (Tanzania), and other forms of 'African socialism'. These ideologies will be promoted in mass and community programmes, and those children for whom there are no schools will receive traditional socialization in this highly politicised atmosphere. In an age of changing values, this can have serious political consequences.

Beneath all the changes briefly outlined above is the clash between different concepts of morality—the one often expressed in indigenous custom, the other in a western-style legal system. The former will still prescribe the standards of proper conduct in many such areas, and in village societies. The imposed law, however, is generally expressed in the national constitution, and sets the rules which prevail for the nation as a whole. Thus the crisis of social change cannot disappear quickly. It will probably lead to new adjustments in time.

In the meantime the balance of values in educational planning

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presents special problems—for curricula, and for teacher education for instance. The clash of western and village values may have serious effects on teachers who have gone through training by grasping at difficult concepts, whose education, training, and equipment are not adequate for a real mastery of what they teach, and who work in perpetual anxiety. Anxiety about what is right conduct and belief reinforces anxiety about the meaning of concepts learnt in one's second or third language, and never fully grasped. A survey of mental health in Papua and New Guinea in 1957[1] suggested that the incidence of mental breakdown was especially high among teachers.

Both study and experience seem necessary to prepare the planner for what may be termed the environmental limits on educational planning. The need especially remains for the politics of responsibility—i.e. political decisions which balance the ideal against the possible. Ideally, for instance, life for any foreseeable future may be far richer without economic development of the industrial type. In fact, the limits imposed on economic development by resources and social organization may be quite obvious. Great wisdom may be required here and, perhaps, the courage to withdraw from planning where the planner cannot agree with economic objectives which bring hardship for a whole generation, on questionable doctrinaire grounds; alternatively, he may possess the skill to temper the doctrine with common sense in the final plan. If he comes from a wealthy or western nation, he is likely to be suspected of a lack of sympathy for the national objectives, even accused of prejudice or neo-colonialism. He must be acutely aware of the importance of the national ideology in political mobilisation of the nation, and realize that without some such emotional bond propagated through the system, the system itself may disintegrate into chaos. And in the background are the great mass of villagers, who may still be trying stubbornly to adhere to traditional mores, patterns of land use and tenure, and who resent central government intervention—ambivalently so, because at the same time they demand that their children have access to the schools, and seek for the key to success in the cash economy.

1. A. Sinclair, *Field and Clinical Survey: Report on the Mental Health of the Indigenes of Papua and New Guinea.* Melbourne, (Roneo) 1957, p. 14.

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3. Some hindrances to educational planning

A. *The school and the village*

While it is impossible to predict the future, it is clear that extension of western-style schooling into new areas, or bringing more children into existing schools, will increase the rate of social change. For the traditional patterns of socialization are disrupted. What the parents will consider proper training for the child will often have been sacrificed by sending him to school. As J.S. Furnivall observed: instead of learning how to live properly, he has been selected to learn how to earn a living. Having made the decision, parents (and the pupil) will expect a return in status and in cash. School will appear as one symbol of a new order. In effect, traditional society gives up its hold on the minds of the young. Or it may surrender only partially, so that the influence of the home is in direct opposition to the sociological implications of school lessons. The villagers will lose control, however, where the student is selected for secondary and higher education, as this generally involves his living in an institution.

The logic and egalitarianism of the westernised school undermines belief in the local myths, the old deities, and the spirits of the dead. Authority based on such beliefs is also undermined. The work of the school promotes the emergence of an urban-oriented wage-earning class, even if only by increasing the awareness of different ways of living. The school system is also likely to attract the most able of the young out of traditional life and into the cash economy and the national political system. Thus the school is a factor for political change and its operation reinforces such new concepts as changes from traditional to individual patterns of land tenure, from subsistence farming to cash cropping, from familiale to industrial-type labour situations.

It is necessary to remember that the modern classroom, where the children spend their days, and so are taken out of the village routines and traditional education, cannot be thought of merely as a means of instruction in the school subjects. The results we have mentioned are of first political importance. The school routine in itself is a factor for alienation from the village. The planner may think of the child with four years of literacy as in some ways a mere fortunate villager; he may work for a village-oriented syllabus in certain more remote

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schools. But great numbers of the children who fail to follow the new way out of the subsistence into the national cash economy will react as other drop-outs do. To anyone who has lived in a town of a developing country, the progression from village school to urban squatter settlement is clear enough. The village-oriented syllabus will be taken as second-best; yet many who have taken it will try to proceed into clerical employment. The village-oriented technical-training centres are often less successful in keeping young villagers at home than in attracting them into the towns in search of employment.

These hindrances to planning will increase as more investment in schools is made. Thus the calm calculation which relegates those who do not proceed to secondary and tertiary education to the traditional life and the subsistence economy is unreal; the planner has to understand the impact of the cash economy on village life and needs.

B. *Education and the emergent classes*

Modern education, like the experiences of wage employment, cash cropping, or experiments in business operations, is a factor in an emergent class structure. The part it plays in nation building is thus complex. It may be used to popularise the national ideology. But on another level it is a factor producing a new balance of interest groups within the nation as a whole—by wearing down the vertical lines of division between regional, cultural, and linguistic groups, and by emphasising the horizontal class interests which link intellectuals, entrepreneurs and other employers, and employed workers across the nation. Where there was an earlier nation-wide class structure, this is overshadowed by one related to the western economy and polity. The emergence of these new classes challenges the status of traditional leaders. Nothing is more likely to promote anger within the traditional social unit, than when, for instance, a person of low traditional status—perhaps a money lender, or a person who had nothing and who had failed to meet traditional obligations—becomes wealthy by cash cropping on communal lands, or wins high status by graduating from a university. The fact that he, rather than a person of high traditional status, wins the scarce resource of higher education, with consequent new status, inevitably promotes anger. In some societies, where status is inherited, there is a clash with western ideas of student selection on performance. In other traditional societies, of course, both religious and secular education (as in the Chinese tradition)

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always offered special opportunities for some at least of the gifted village boys.

We have mentioned the need to understand the reactions and resistances of villagers. One effect of western education will be to transform some of their sons from peasants into members of a national working class. From the point of view of central government the village 'peasant' has until recently been regarded as almost a-political. Government, within systems of area administration, which has lasted in Asia, for instance, for millennia, has been the art of managing villages; for it simply was not worth while maintaining a permanent penetration of village autonomy by the central bureaucracy so long as taxes were paid and military service, corvees etc, discharged. The village primary school is a powerful agency which attracts the young villager into wage employment. He may become a member of a trade union, which in the new nation lacks hitting power because he and his fellows lack any special skills. If he strikes he is easily replaced. In the nationwide economy which is beginning to be founded, his interests are shared by other workers from one end of the nation to the other. In the inevitable struggle for higher wages, these common interests begin to be recognised. Here begins the national working class. Here too may begin the political party which sets out to win the allegiance of the working class. Class politics in turn promote national mobilisation, with emerging classes in conflict round the issues which central government must deal with—such as wages, taxation, housing, and social services, all of which the emergent economy must provide to replace the old village security system.

The weakness of the working class in the developing country is parallelled in most cases by that of the indigenous middle class. The development of the small-scale industries and of the lesser commercial and financial activities, which came with the colonial system, were mainly in the hands of non-indigenous Asians, used to the business of towns and of cultural frontiers. One of the post-independence crises has involved questions of citizenship of these migrants. At the same time large-scale commercial, and especially industrial, activities tend to be controlled by foreign companies. The emergence of a nationwide middle class, controlling a large part of the productive activities, presents even greater difficulties than the rise of a skilled work force, where this is the objective of government policies. Sheer necessity often drives the government itself to fill the entrepreneurial role.

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The weakness of the middle class tends to strengthen the role of the intellectuals and the students. The political parties reflect the clash of philosophies rather than class interests.

In such a situation, pressures from the government for the education system to be used to promote what it considers a unifying ideology is overwhelming. The planner should, I believe, estimate the weight of these pressures, applying the principles already outlined. He bears a special responsibility in this situation. For the replacement of established truth by ideology in the schools involves a corresponding orientation of teacher education, and may even place limits on the freedom of university education.

C. *Competition for power and influence through the education system*

The competition between areas, especially between urban and rural areas, for educational facilities, takes political forms, and the pressures of competing interests may be expressed by the political parties. These parties may also endeavour to influence what is taught, in order to serve the interests they represent. In the situation common to developing countries, exposure of the school population to competing political parties is probably one of the most effective forms of political education. Where secondary school pupils form a large proportion of those who understand the political processes evolving round central government, their politicisation, in the sense of their becoming vocal on political issues, is inevitable.

A single party state generally involves a special orientation of the school system and of education as a whole. Interests which compete to influence education in a pluralistic political system will involve competing religious groups. Christian missions are especially prominent in former colonies, and this prominence promotes reactions from other religious and secular groups. Thus Buddhist organizations may set out to proselytise in opposition to Christian missions through education. Anti-colonial political parties may proclaim Christian missions to be the agencies of neo-colonial interests. But the main competition will be between regional and tribal groupings within the country, and between the governments of other nations trying to use the education system to advance their own interests.

Where political parties express regional rather than class interests, the allocation of schools to the different areas may be a matter for

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bitter political dispute. For the parties, or the factional groupings in the legislature, tend to be motivated mainly by suspicions of groups with different languages and traditions. These vertical divisions of the new nation have not been superseded by horizontal class divisions. Education, it is soon realised, is a means to power. Educational facilities in the homelands of one language or tribal group bring special advantages, such as making possible the entry of the young men into the bureaucracy. Thus the demand is often made for a *representative* bureaucracy, based on an equal spread, as far as possible, of resources for education. The planner should at least be aware of the political opposition likely to a plan based only on the concept of an efficient national education system, which tends to concentrate resources where they will have most effect, so that the highest possible number of those who commence formal education will pass on into secondary and tertiary institutions.

This generally means continuation of an old trend, for during the colonial period, western-type schools were inevitably concentrated in the areas longest under control and within the areas influenced by the Christian missions.

Concentration of western education facilities in the first-colonised parts of the area that was to become Nigeria, gave special advantages in this kind of education to the Ibo people. It was a factor which led to the employment of large numbers of them in the bureaucracy, serving in the northern regions and in areas that were far less prominently represented in the public service. The situation was probably one of the factors leading to the recent civil war. Even in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, where an elected legislature is new, the representatives of the Central Highlands electorates demand that independence be deferred until their areas have made up the lag in education and have educated men who can hold their own with those from coastal areas.

Perhaps the beginning of class pressures may be seen where political, civil service, and other leaders use influence to ensure the best educational facilities for the members of their own families. Such pressures may have to be taken into account, especially where planning involves selection of students to study overseas, either at government expense or under schemes of technical aid.

Very heavy pressures may be used by foreign governments wishing to use the national education system for their own purposes. They may subsidise institutions, or offer education and training of key

personnel. These facilities and forms of assistance may be compared with the whole range of commodities on offer to a newly independent country; although the period of highly competitive offers may be drawing to a close. A major educational handicap of the developing country is the inadequacy of its publishing industry, marked by shortages of paper and other raw materials, and of skills needed for the writing and production of textbooks and translation of important books into the languages of instruction. If a single foreign government supplies the skills and the textbooks it will have a profound influence on the whole development of the new nation. The position has been one of open competition between the major power groupings. One obvious example has been in the attempts to attract students from developing countries. Thus the planning of a new education system may have to take foreign relations into account. A government may have to be as careful of the source from which it imports educational materials as it has to be with munitions, for both tend towards permanent commitment.

Thus the competition for power on the world scale, as on the national scale, may directly affect the task of the educational planner. It is not good enough for him to regard political interference as some unwarranted interruption of his work. For the manipulation of the wheelers and dealers is as much a part of his task as the ordering of ideas, estimates of costs, design of institutions, courses, and the like. It is especially idle to purport to outline the aims of the whole system without reference to the current internal and external politics of the nation. There are signs that these aims may be very different from what has been assumed in the first years of planning for development, and that development may not always be regarded primarily as a process of matching the material developments of the rich nations. Efforts to catch up economically may lead into an impasse which will enforce a re-thinking of objectives.

In any event, the educational planner retains the great solace and advantage of all educators in that he has a clear duty to advance the cause of full intellectual development. One great benefit which he can help to develop in the nation is a responsible and effective intellectual community, imbued as far as possible with the spirit and the techniques of free inquiry. The planner, like the politician, cannot see the developing problems clearly. He can work for conditions which are shown by experience as most likely to produce innovators with seminal minds, who may conceive new objectives in economic

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and political change, and new institutions to achieve these goals. Already there is some questioning of whether development on the western model does anything more than reinforce the economic gap between the rich and the poor countries. It may well be that the somewhat hasty, if often poetic, ideologies of early years of independence, snatched at for want of anything better by the first political parties, as means of mobilising the masses into the new political systems, will give way to rational intellectual syntheses based on new social insights.

D. *Religious education systems*

It is common, in a developing country, for local magico-religious traditions to be somewhat stronger than in countries which have been industrialised and unchanged for a long time. Where this is so, with pressures arising from modernization leading to considerable stress, local millennarian movements may result as an attempt at a short-cut through the painful dilemma of social change. There may then be marked differences between the purposes of those who plan the schooling system and the purposes of the consumers, i.e. parents and children. In the colonial period, it is the desire for money which appears to be the primary motive for sending children to school. At the same time there may be a common belief in the *ritual* efficacy of the language of education for attaining economic and status ends.

I am not mainly concerned here with forms of religious education which were common in the pre-literate folk societies. But it is worth noting that such instruction, often in the manipulation of the supernatural for the individual or for the group, and to preserve the lifegiving environment, supplemented the child's imitation of adult activities up to the time of his initiation. Such experience often has a lifelong effect on the person who must also adjust to the world as revealed in secular education. But without literacy no complex doctrine will be preserved in memory through the generations, nor is there likely to develop a great body of belief and speculation, such as has marked what Toynbee called the 'oecumenical' religions. The social scale of the folk society's religious system is very limited. Belief seems to vary a great deal, even as between individuals of the same village. It is the ritual, with magic efficacy, which is central; the word can interpret it consistently only when it is precisely established either in trained memories or in script. The intellectual range is not neces-

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sarily extended where the innovations of one generation may be forgotten or misunderstood by the next; the loss by one generation of a non-literate tradition will probably be final and complete for the whole society.

The village with its own religious traditions may offer some resistance to the literate school, whether it be of a major religion or a secular government. But the grounds for the resistance are uncertain and quickly eroded by the success of new ideas and the ridicule of the young who have accepted them. Resistance may be channelled into cult movements which are partly political and partly religious.

Educational planning is a product of secular modernity and its values must reflect this. If the planner represents an international agency such as Unesco, there are obvious reasons why his standards must be humane rather than religious. But as a political realist he must allow for the pressures of religious influence. As an educator, he looks for the humane values in each educational system.

The resistances from illiterate religious traditions will be dispersed and difficult to estimate politically; they will have local rather than national effects.

But religious bodies which maintain their own literate school systems, especially those which are central to the history and culture of the country, or of a large part of it—such as Buddhist organisation in Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia or Vietnam; Christianity in the Philippines or the countries of Africa south of the Sahara; Islam in Indonesia, Pakistan or the nations of northern Africa; and Hinduism in India—will offer strong resistance to an educational plan which has predominantly secular aims. The separation of education from religion, even in materialist Europe and its colonies of settlement overseas, is a very recent innovation and still far from complete. In many former colonies, where the foundation of Christian missions accompanied the process of colonisation, the tension between the mission and the colonial administration reflected the older conflict in Christendom between church and state.

Modernisation in some countries has involved the suppression of organised religious education. In some, traditional monarchies exercising religious as well as secular authority have been replaced by secular governments. The religious bodies may retain control of their own schools, but the tendency is for these to be used by the government for secular education. In the cities and large towns the preoccupation with earning money, and the rapid growth of population which

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has outstripped religious accommodation and services, tends to render religious education irrelevant. But the rate of social change and the loss of old values is slow, the degree varying from one part of the country to another. The brilliant child may still acquire an education through study of the holy books, and pass afterwards into the life of contemplation and learning—as for instance do members of the Sangha in Thailand or Cambodia. The traditional world view may express a particular order of social responsibility as in Islam, or resignation to the irreversible cycle of change as in the Buddhist world. The leadership of the country may be split between the modernisers and the traditionalists, and the dilemma may be internalised in individuals. In times of warfare and suffering, the religious leaders may find enough support to defy the government.

New governments have established ministries of religion to deal administratively with these problems. The effect may sometimes be to have one ministry supporting the cause of secular education, and one that of religious education. A new subdivision of the whole field of government has had to be made for modernising purposes, though the functions of the ministry of religion may be no more than the maintenance of ceremonial and religious buildings and artifacts. In other cases, as in an Islamic state, religion may dominate the education system as a whole.

The areas of tension are clear and offers pecial areas of competition for power and influence; education is in yet another sense a highly political issue. Compromises may be attempted, but they may result in difficult situations in the schools. Thus in Laos, in 1955, the two secondary schools taught, in addition to the mother tongue, four languages —Sanskrit and Pali, the languages of the religious system, and French and English, the languages of modernisation. What time was left for other studies?

The Christian church (which has in general developed from a mission) will long since have come to terms with industrialism. The other oecumenical religions are only now feeling its impact. In fact Christian missions overseas owed much of their success to the techniques of an industrial economy—the printing of texts, the availability of industrially produced tools, food and drugs, and the know-how which made possible the establishment of mission enclaves managed from well-equipped offices. The mission had its bureaucrats, and a chain of command, often organised on a world scale. Some sects taught the ethic of hard work and thrift—that the people must 'work or

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perish'. The advantages of *matériel* and organisation probably did as much to attract converts in search of modernity as did the religious message. The period of great mission expansion corresponds with the expansion of industrialism, rather than with any great renaissance of Christian faith.

In a colony it was usual for missionaries to outnumber government officials; and in many ways to duplicate government functions.

The Christian churches which have taken over from missions may be governed by nationals with mission training. Their school systems may be efficient by western standards, and may be supported and financed by overseas bodies (though such funds are drying up). Their tradition includes opposition to government in defence of their converts. Traditions of the settler and the colonial official may no longer exist in the country, while that of the missionary remains. Christian churches may exert influence through those members of the government who have received early education in mission schools.

The missions, not the colonial government, pioneered linguistic studies and translations, developed the first western printing facilities, and began new kinds of literacy and technical training. Large communities may still be literate in the languages thus established. Colonial governments provided health and education services comparatively late, leaving this work to missions (often subsidised). So in developing countries there are religious bodies which have some tradition of rivalling the government in providing services, and which may retain theocratic tendencies. A Christian church may have more capacity for resistance than a traditional religious organization.

The political question of who controls education in a particular area may thus offer special complications for educational planning. There will be other complications posing technical problems for the professional educator, such as those concerning the language of instruction, and the method of transition to fluency and literacy in the national language. These will in turn be the subject of political decisions by the government, since language problems may threaten the very existence of the nation.

E. *The political significance of language*

This entanglement of political with technical problems, when languages of administration and instruction are to be decided, has been well exemplified in Belgium and Canada as well as in India. All

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one needs to say here is that the planner who sees this problem as only a technical one is probably due for some painful shocks. There are political as well as technical educational reasons for considering even a local written vernacular or a lingua franca for use in the early years of schooling and for the first efforts at literacy. Politically, this tends to establish rapport with the parents and the community, and to some extent to placate the religious bodies using these languages. For at least they can feel that all their past efforts have not been in vain. People can write letters in the languages they have been accustomed to use without the fear they will be outdated. The advantages or the disadvantages of a local language may be decisive for educational advances in a particular locality or region. But political reasons may outweigh educational considerations, as when for political purposes, local languages are replaced in the schools by a 'national' language, or by the language used in colonial administration. Such decisions may be reinforced by the fact that a single language of tuition reduces costs.

F. *Political ideologies*

After independence it has been common for the political party in power to proclaim an ideology which appeals to village as well as to national sentiment. This is often an extension of the anti-colonial programme which enabled the party to win power at the time of independence. An increase of common ground between governors and governed may be sought, and the ideology will include concessions to popular sentiment. It may express the highest common factor of those sentiments which rally the localities to the government and the nation.

In the colonial period, highest priority for educational services went to the settler community. This was generally defended as essential to retain the colonists and their skills, for the benefit of the colony. In reaction after independence, such priorities are likely to be reversed, except for the families of those nationals of the former metropolitan power whose services are retained as essential by the new government. But part of the reaction is special emphasis in the curriculum on anti-colonial views; and this stimulates trends for the system to be used as a means of political mobilization, by promoting unity against the external forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The same trends for tuition to reflect a common belief or prejudice are, of course, to be

seen in developed countries, especially where a single party or the bureaucracy is in control. The greater the problem of loyalty to central government, the more likely is the educational system to become a propaganda instrument.

Where the process of political mobilization has been carried on by conflicting political mass parties (or a single party), the preconditions for logical educational planning (as distinct from ideological indoctrination) may be limited, or even denied because of priority given to ideology. The symbols of government authority may be linked with, and supported by, the myths created by intellectuals for political purposes. Where two or more parties have competed for support prior to independence, the ideology of the winning party will generally be marked by extreme hostility towards the former colonial power. This may operate to cut off aid from the very government which originally set up educational institutions in imitation of its own. This in turn will increase the difficulties for educational planning.

It has been fashionable for political scientists to judge slogans and ideologies on their effectiveness rather than on their content. Those students of comparative politics who have specialized in contemporary comparison of developing countries are naturally struck by the predominance of regional rather than national loyalties. Many of them see the national ideology as the political instrument essential to mobilize the whole of the new nation to a central government. For they accept the nation state, in its present boundaries, as the basic political unit of the modern world political system. The educational planner cannot ignore the content of the ideology; how far he compromises with it will be dictated by his conscience and his political judgement.

Decisions which profoundly affect the philosophy of social studies and the social sciences as taught in the primary and secondary school systems may be related to general and local magico-religious belief which the educational planner, who shares the values sponsored by Unesco, does not accept. He may be free to plan in such fields as mathematics or the natural sciences but not in the social sciences, where the approved system of belief, shaped for political purposes, will conflict with facts established scientifically.

Political influences affect what is taught in the schools of all nations. But the planner in a developing country may find the ideological context more obvious and blatant than in countries where the system is subjected to constant informed criticism from comparatively free

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institutions, such as universities. To some extent he may match blatant propaganda with subtlety. So long as the general approach to education is rational, and so long as some institutions, such as the universities, are relatively free, an act of faith in the efficacy of reason and in the educational process operating in those areas of intellectual life less affected by political pressures seems justified. Thus, he should plan for the teaching of truth wherever possible, working within whatever the realistic limits may be to promote the ideas of the unity of mankind, of equality of all citizens before the law, and of the advantages of living according to common rules freely accepted by citizens. Unless he is to be a mere technician executing political decisions, he must react politically to political pressures. Every educational plan is a political document.

The planner who represents the values sponsored by Unesco will do what he can to establish them in the educational system. But to advance these ends, he may have to engage in political activity—in bargaining and persuasion, perhaps even in beating the politician at his own game.

G. *Hindrances arising from limited political mobilization*

In most new nations, political interaction and competition now extend over wider regions than before the colonial experience. The original vertical divisions of interest and interaction have tended to become more extensive by consolidation and articulation of interests, through development of more extensive government, religious and other institutions, and of larger economic enterprises. But such new institutions and interests have not overlapped and extended to the boundaries of the nation as a whole. In the modern nation, state class interests (largely the products of industrialization) have superseded local or regional interests and organizations. Class groupings and interests have been articulated horizontally through the modern nation-state and compete to influence or control the central government. But this is one aspect of economic and political change which in the developing country may be only beginning.

For instance, indigenous entrepreneurs and capitalists, and the class interests expressed in workers' organizations, tend to be weak, with their activities limited to certain areas. This means that counterbalancing economic interest groups, competing for control of the

central government, do not yet form a marked feature of the national polity. This in turn means that the mass party, committed to a special ideology expounding a world view, competes with the bureaucracy in attempts to capture the central government. For the bureaucracy may be a far more obvious political pressure group seeking its own ends than it is where other political forces (e.g. political parties) can keep it more or less to *instrumental* functions. My use of the term 'bureaucracy' here is intended to include the armed forces. The tendency for the officers to become politically dominant within the bureaucracy is clear enough. Competition between the bureaucracy and other political interests, and within the bureaucracy itself, emphasises political difficulties already mentioned. It is difficult to make political generalizations, and therefore, a single education plan, applicable to the country as a whole.

In a country which owes its boundaries and its identity as a nation to the colonial experience, especially where the predominant form of pre-colonial government had been the acephelous village system of a few hundred people, great changes may already have been necessary for inhabitants of a hundred or so villages to feel that they have problems which affect them all, and which have to be decided for and within that locality. In such a country the most bitterly contested politics may be at an essentially local level.

In general, disputes will involve the would-be innovators against the conservatives. But religious differences, rival land claims based on different approaches to land tenure (along with increased pressure on land arising from population growth), the clash of a new local and central government oriented leadership against those of traditional status, resulting in refusals to pay local or central taxation, the changing price levels for tropical tree crops, the frequently frustrated hopes of cooperative and industrial enterprises—all are likely to find expression in a regional political disorder.

This kind of local upheaval has often grown slowly in a background where the villagers found themselves exposed to three types of western influence. The Christian missionaries tried to change the whole system of belief, and began their school systems to do so. The western businessmen, as traders, planters, recruiters, were obviously out to profit from the use of labour and land, and to influence the communities in their own interests. Finally the government officials imposed new systems of law and order, often wrecking the traditional system of settling disputes. By introducing western law, with its abstract prin-

ciples of justice for individuals irrespective of their status, they often wrecked any chance of settlement within the political-social group. For traditional settlements were less concerned with abstract principles than with harmony within the group; and such harmony required that the status system should not be challenged, even if this meant that the important man tended to prevail over the man of little account, irrespective of the circumstances. Western law took such cases out of the indigenous system into the bewildering surroundings of the western court, on appeal; the old status system is soon undermined and traditional authority soon lost in such conditions. In adapting to all this, in making common cause by playing one type of coloniser off against the other, the people tended to develop a wider pattern of political interaction.

Up to the time of independence, this process had proceeded in different ways, with political sophistication and economic changes taking place at variable rates. The gap between a coastal and an inland group of villages is typical. In countries with very difficult terrain, such as Papua and New Guinea, the difference is between the experience of two or three decades and a century of experience and reaction. Moreover, the kind of experience will often have been different, as an earlier, harsher kind of colonial rule gave way to the later phases of colonialism.

Within one region or district, which may have been first defined for colonial area administration, there may be one or more of these wider areas of political interaction. Language is one factor which may dictate the limits.

The possible constitutional arrangements to deal with such *de facto* political fragmentation may theoretically be separate states with or without a customs union; or a confederation, a federation, a unitary state with large significant local government authorities and areas, or a unitary state with weak local government or none at all. A confederation of separate states with a customs union may develop an organisation for common services, but these will not be likely to include more than one especially expensive item—such as a university—in an education programme. Its location will be a political issue. In the case of the federation, education may not formally be a federal matter, but may be a function of the states or provinces. However, the requirements of finance and personnel lead inevitably to federal planning, generally resulting in political disputes with the states. But within the unitary nation state, and within the state of a federal system,

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the education plan must often allow for local conflicts of interest within the areas of effective political interaction.

Even more significant will be the conflict of interest between these areas. For the differences between them are likely to go deeper, involving language, religion, and custom in land tenure, marriage and inheritance. While people may appreciate the advantages of remaining within the nation, they may fear domination by leaders from other language, religious and ethnic groups. The new national governments are necessarily preoccupied with the results of such fears which tend to coalesce, in literate societies, round the question of the language of government, mentioned above, which is regarded as symbolic of the culture as a whole.

A govern ment in this situation—where it has not already devolved education policies, with those for other services, upon subordinate area or local government bodies—may be forced to do so. Such a nation needs flexibility between the centre and the regions. Inflexibility at the centre may even result in warfare or secession. A politically necessary decentralization of educational services may necessitate decentralized planning. The advantages to be gained from such educational decentralization when decided upon for educational purposes include greater relevance of the programmes to local needs. On the other hand, this must be weighed against the possibility of higher administrative costs and the scarcity of skilled personnel for key positions. The decision, however, will be made for general political rather than educational reasons—and by the government, not by the educational experts.

A further reason for decentralization is that it makes it easier to reconcile the demands of each locality for its share of public service appointments with the idea of a *merit* service. For the local or regional government may meet such demands to a considerable extent. The result, of course, may be to dilute the effectiveness of the education system as a whole.

This fragmentation of the national (or state) education plan may be a temporary phase. One of the effects of *horizontal* and class organization is that it tends to erode the older ethnic and local loyalties. For the person with wide political-party, trade-union, or business interests tends to look to the centre of major governments, as do those coming from the secondary schools. Where such persons are prominent in local politics, the political parties and government workers at the centre will generally have informal—or party—links and economic association with them. These informal links indicate a trend for those

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with national interests to move out of local into national politics, and for local government to form the arena for conflicts on matters of more limited local interest[1] maintained by politically active persons whose experiences are limited to local issues.

In the long run, the trend is that the effective local government politician is drawn into national politics. Centralization of political decision-making is reinforced by the attraction the central government departments have for the officials of the local authority. The most able of these will attempt to join the national service. Control of taxation gives the central government the long-term advantage. The national political parties compete to control local government.

Decentralization which may be necessary at the time of independence, and in the period following it, may be short lived. With the growth of national cohesion, decentralization of education may come to be decided on educational grounds. But the trend so far has been in the other direction on account of overriding political reasons which require centralization of education, although educational reasons require decentralization.

H. *The limiting effects of poverty*

In general, the greater the problems, the greater is the government's emphasis on economic development and political mobilization, and the more rigid the limits set for educational planning. In the most wealthy countries, it is possible for education to be planned primarily as an end in itself, for the full development of the individual, and on the basis of free individual choice. Freedom here is of course comparative; the changing demands of the market will affect the choices of individuals. Moreover, even the wealthiest nations compete for power with other nations, and the governments tend to approach educational planning as a means to national power. Alternatively, a wealthy nation may have a short-sighted government which places inadequate emphasis on education.

But in the poor nation, with a government committed to economic development, such comparative freedom is a luxury which cannot be afforded for long. Economic planning is likely to involve manpower controls. These in turn lead to government priorities for the establish-

1. Wilton John Hanna & Judity Lynne Hanna, 'Political structure of urban centres communities' in (ed.) Horace Miner: *The city in modern Africa*, p. 151-184.

ment and maintenance of those educational institutions most likely to produce the skills required. Even those choices, which the educational planner (or planning team) must make, in a poor country with a shortage of schools, have the effects of manpower controls. For instance, he may have to disregard in some areas the claims of parents who wish to send their children to primary schools, so that more resources can be devoted to teacher education. Thus the cost of higher education for some is the complete denial of schooling to others.

I. *The non-western bureaucracy*

Recent studies of bureaucracies with traditional elements have suggested that, even where the government institution has been modelled on that of a western country, its functions and purposes may be very different from what the planner from a western country assumes. The planner must, as an essential, first study and assess the rationale, functions and values of the public service through which he hopes to put a plan into effect; and the plan itself must take such factors into account. For the public service may have other than merely instrumental functions. It may be very much the creation of the system of patronage; or it may itself exercise the real power, so that the contests for power in the system take place between various branches of the bureaucracy.

'Inputs' into the bureaucracy, made according to approved western techniques, may be absorbed as in a great piece of blotting paper. Or the effects ('outputs') may be so different from those which anyone accustomed to working in western bureaucracies has come to expect, as to be fairly described from the western viewpoint (in the term used by F.W. Riggs) as 'prismatic'.[1] This may not be chaos or breakdown, but may arise from differences in values and emphases betweeen cultures, that are embodied in the respective bureaucratic systems. The planner must also learn the differences of style and conform to them.

Other differences arise from the continued and necessary use of area administration in a developing country. The government is geared to the administration of small village—and other—groupings, held together by kinship ties, as well as to the control of the towns. Direct contact with individuals in villages may be difficult. Names

1. F.W. Riggs, *Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964.

and even numbers may not be known, and the base level of government may be in the hands of the part-time village headman or other authority. Another hindrance in area administration may come from the conflict between the authoritarian area official and new grass-root democratic institutions. In fact there is a whole complex of political factors involved in area administration alone, which the planner may study with advantage.

In all administrative systems, informal relationships may be decisive as to whether and how the formal structure works. The planner must be sensitive to the need for useful informal contacts. He must also learn the actual process of feeding ideas and information into the bureaucratic system. Much effort can be wasted by overlooking such basic requirements. Thus a person who approaches a European bureaucracy with an idea which he expresses only orally, and who fails to get a basic document into the system, will probably get no further than the clerk on the desk. In a non-European bureaucracy it may be unrealistic to depend on feeding a document into the system. Its passage through the right channels may depend on informal personal contacts or on certain formal acts of recognition in the cases of a number of officials—acts of recognition which are part of the administrative culture. The personal style of the actor may be as important as the right action. Sensitivity of the planner to cultural and bureaucratic traditions is an essential political resource.

4. Priorities

A. *For formal education*

Investment in formal education has to compete with other forms of investment, and will be influenced by competition between those with special interests in the conflicting demands. Those who argue the need for an intellectual community to promote political and economic development, to act as a balancing factor and source of criticism or advice, to establish essential contact with the elites of other nations, and as an end in itself, may have to compete against those who stress immediate demands for health, agricultural extension, or technical training. The decisions will be largely political ones, as between vested interests of the educators and educational institutions, and as between

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socio-economic classes, areas, language groups, employing and labour organizations, etc. The situation invites educational empire building. Competition between educational interests may result, for instance, in the waste of millions of dollars in the duplication of expensive facilities when the government, unable to decide where experts disagree, compromises by setting up numerous tertiary institutions where fewer would be as productive.

In all countries, educational planning faces the gap between resources of finance and skills, and demand. Demand expands along with the new possibilities being created by industrialization, with expanding frontiers of knowledge, and with new possibilities of social mobility and economic gains. In the developing country the foundations of planned schemes are generally the limited resources of a colonial economy. Even where education is allocated a priority above those for defence, public display for purely political purposes, or direct investment in development of natural resources, the developing country lags increasingly behind the highly industrialized countries in economic resources and trained educators. But aspirations do not. National pride as well as humane motives prompt the setting of educational objectives that are comparable with those in the most wealthy nations.

One function of planning, therefore, is to defeat the political pressures for the setting of unreal objectives, which may produce educational institutions with high sounding names, and courses which purport falsely to prepare students for professional work at international standards. Realistic planning makes an honest attempt to set educational standards at a level which is best suited to the social and economic needs of the country, and, more particularly, is in accordance with what is possible in the time and with the resources available. Some of this difficulty will arise from the fact that education statistics, like those of health, tend to be regarded by governments as involving the national prestige.

From the commencement of colonial government education systems until independence, the skilled educators in high positions tended to be nationals of the metropolitan country. In some cases they were discharging much higher responsibilities than would have been vested in them at home, whereas the type of problem they faced was more complex than those dealt with in a well established metropolitan ministry of education. The assumption, overt or not, was basically of an indefinite colonial relationship—an indefinite cultural domina-

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tion by the metropolitan society. In most cases there was a fairly lengthy process of adapting metropolitan educational policies and organisation to the colonial situation. And until the last couple of decades there was seldom any sense of urgency in programmes of economic and political development.

In the meantime, social change had been progressing rapidly in the industrialised metropolitan country. Whereas the mission school tended to produce old world Christians who appeared, in the international environment, to be seeking community values which no longer existed outside the missions, the schools of colonial administrations were also obsolete by the standards of those of the metropolitan government. But the demands of the international community in a new nation make rapid modernization of the system essential, just at the time when internal demands are for geographical extension to all parts of the country and for the creation of higher educational facilities for all who qualify to attend them. In addition, there will be special educational needs arising from the extension programmes of government departments.

The sense of urgency in planning appears when the requirements for an effective political transition are brought home, perhaps by fixing a target date for independence. Rational administration and economic organisation, legal systems and public institutions, with rational policies in all spheres of government, require a greatly expanded intellectual elite, and a complete range of national institutions, —intellectual as well as political.[1] But the emphasis of the departing colonial administration is characteristically on *preparation* and tuition, as though the problem after independence were a continuation of the colonial set of problems. In fact, the transfer of power to the indigenous government revolutionises the situation in education as in all other areas of public administration and government. The political changes are such that innovation has to begin at once. Thus much of the fruits of colonial educational administration were dissipated in, or rendered irrelevant by, the transfer of power.

In the colonial period, technical, scientific and higher education generally lagged well behind education in language and literary and commercial skills, which require less expensive equipment, and which

1. Edward A. Shils, 'Toward a Modern Intellectual Community in the New States' in (ed.) James S. Coleman: *Education and Political Development*, Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 498.

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are also easier to teach, since socialization in the pre-industrial environment does not promote concepts based on exact measurement or the use of standardised equipment. The colonial type of economy mainly demanded minor clerical and trade skills from its colonial recruits. But the bias in the school system resulted in shortages of tradesmen, and, generally, a problem of unemployment for many with clerical skills. The lack of large-scale industry meant that these unemployed school leavers had the choice of returning to village agriculture, from which the years of schooling had often alienated them; or of living as best they could in the urban areas. This poses a political and economic problem which has been prominent in many new nations. Unemployment in town is accompanied by under-employment in villages.

Yet people in areas without schools demand them. In education, as in health administration, the welfare of children is a sensitive area. The right of all children to find places in schools is almost universally conceded. Where the party in power sets out to mobilize the citizens behind it, by promoting the national ideology, it will be sympathetic to these demands. Demands for the extension of schools and public works sometimes do more to create a competitive atmosphere in the legislature than the nascent party systems. Where the country's resources do not include a modern publication industry, effort and money spent on promoting literacy will, from the point of view of economic or political development, be largely wasted. Admittedly literacy, even if only to write letters and read the occasional newspaper, is worth-while in human terms. But the situation in many areas is either that the school leaver has little chance to use his new skills, or that the skills he has acquired (sometimes in a mission or other language with a very limited range of publications) may not be adequate for him to apply them usefully. In either case they are soon lost.

The writer was some years ago working for Unesco in a country with an extensive adult literacy programme. To prevent the rapid loss of these skills, the village headmen were being exhorted to convey news and instructions through written notices in public places, rather than orally. In such a case the question is whether the time, effort and expense devoted to literacy would have been less wastefully devoted to other kinds of education, for instance those which promote economic activities.

In these circumstances it seems essential that a significant proportion of those who commence primary schooling should proceed through

the school system to a stage where the achievement brings definite economic, social or cultural benefits. This may be achieved to some degree by introducing a community-oriented curriculum into the primary schools of some areas. Such an attempt to avoid the political problem of having large numbers with minimal western education, who cannot secure employment, raises a different problem. For the community-oriented primary-school programme will be less prestigious than that which leads on to secondary and tertiary education; and its introduction into the local school will be regarded by the parents as discriminatory once they realise that it cannot lead to high academic attainments.

B. *For extension and community education*

Each of the development-oriented ministries of the government will move to promote its own programme of extension education. These programmes involve adult and community education in health, agriculture, cooperative and other economic activities, trade-union organization, techniques and purposes of local government, procedures necessary for voting, and other aspects of citizenship. The ministry of education will often have its own out-of-school programme of general adult education to meet individual and family welfare needs in literacy, home management in new situations, and the like; alternatively, as in the Philippines, such work will be organised round the community schools.

The need for planning and co-ordinating all extension and community educational activities is obvious for both economy and effectiveness. The funds being inadequate to provide even primary schooling for all children, the most logical balance between formal primary, secondary and tertiary education as a whole, and the extension-community programme as a whole, becomes very difficult to decide. But logic will seldom decide, for there will be strong political pressures to extend the school system until all children are in school. Yet long-term political considerations, as well as the logic of planned educational development, require that, in the remote villages at least where indigenous and traditional socialization is still dominant, the first educational innovations should be those which bring a direct and demonstrable economic gain. In fact, such a policy may produce a more informed demand for schooling, and help to produce a local situation where literacy has a real function.

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But in practice the allocation of funds and resources is likely to be determined by the result of a power struggle between the education ministry (which is primarily responsible for formal education) and the other ministries. Ideally, the relative emphasis will be laid down in the national development plan and safeguarded in the budget. But, even in the most stable political systems, the actual expenditure will reflect a changing balance between political pressure groups and between the branches of the bureaucracy. In regimes where the bureaucracy (or one branch of the bureaucracy, such as for example the military officers) makes the political decisions itself, instead of executing the decisions of a political party in an instrumental role, the most apparently capricious planning, and erratic application of the national plan (if there is one), may occur.

The need for co-ordinating the extension programmes of other government departments with those of the ministry responsible for schooling and educational institutions is clear enough. But the question in each case is—where does the primary responsibility belong? Is health education a matter for which the department of health is primarily responsible? Is it reasonable to have separate extension programmes? From the point of view of villagers the bureaucratic distinction between a health and an agricultural extension programme may be quite unreal. For villagers do not order their lives to suit the administrative categories of central government. One department cannot develop a programme without the other; and both may depend on some formal education, and upon certain construction and supplies. Thus four or five ministries must be involved. There seems no need to labour the point, as it is generally conceded that, for administrative reasons, educational work for the promotion of change should be co-ordinated.

The need does not always offset inter-ministry rivalries. Some will want to have their own special field projects; and where the resources are low, the result may be a number of unco-ordinated efforts which fail in each case partly because the resources of other ministries are not available. It is not uncommon to see an illogical scatter of such efforts through the country, each arising mainly from what may be chance contacts between a department of government and a particular group of people. Whether the group finds itself categorised as a potential co-operative, a welfare organization, an adult education group, a savings and loans society, or even trade union, may depend on similar chance contacts.

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Co-ordinated planning and execution require those very arrangements which are most difficult even in a highly sophisticated bureaucratic system. Several departments of government must combine to work out decisions in common at the central, regional and local levels, and to establish and to maintain procedures which will allow for two-way communication in the development of multi-purposed programmes.

These arrangements are quite extraordinarily difficult to establish in the initial planning stage, and then to implement. The educational planner must be prepared to operate as one of a national planning team—to play a political role in promoting maximum inter-departmental co-ordination in the educational espects of the national plan.

An inter-departmental planning operation for community development will be a highly political exercise. Politics-free administration is an illusion which can lead to much unreal planning effort. Adoption and implementation of educational plans will be influenced by the ideology espoused by the government of the time, which will set the overall objectives and the time scale. Government decisions will be geared to political aims—in an open political system, with a special eye on the electorate—in a closed one, on the balance of power within the single party or the bureaucracy.

In community development and extension work, education is not so much a preparation for later action as part of the same process; for instance, creation by voluntary labour of a new national asset such as a school building is very much part of community education. Arrangements for this kind of work may frequently break down—with harmful effects. Nothing is more likely to discourage further local co-operation with government than the memory of past failures on the part of the government. Failure, for instance, of a combined effort by ministries of education, works, treasury, transport, and supply to secure delivery of building materials to a school where and when the people come to provide free labour, mobilizes opinion against the programme in that locality. The breakdown will often be due to interdepartmental rivalries—administrative politics may be as great a hindrance to community development as administrative shortcomings.

More significant for the educator than economic gains from these programmes is the development of political participation and commitment to systems of open decision-making at the village level. Educational planners, besides recognising the political difficulties

involved in planning and carrying through community education-cum-development programmes on the national scale, might well ponder on the significance of these efforts. For the likely alternative, given the overwhelming demand for material betterment in poor nations, is the use or threat of force to make people sacrifice immediate satisfactions in order to create national capital.

Obviously, community education-action programmes can never be more than a part of national economic growth, but they may do much to create those attitudes on which economic growth in a free society depends. Even where force is in fact used to fulfil set goals of production, the government will be as economical with it as possible, because it costs good will and co-operation, and wastes manpower in the police and armed forces. Persuasion and propaganda will be preferred, as far as they go.

The alternative to mass propaganda backed by the threat of force 'to get things done' lies in compromise between a national plan and local objectives freely formulated in local institutions. It is based on the belief that the initiative in government should come from the people themselves. Where this belief is held, the educational aspects of the national plan are dominant. The rate of learning and social change is accepted as determining the rate of progress in the plan. The alternative is to fix a rate of change closer to the limits of what is physically and materially possible, and to impose discipline to meet the targets on time. In the latter case, educational planning is subordinated to economic ends. The planner has to be less concerned with ends and more with means. In practice, governments in developing nations will arrive at various kinds of compromise between the need for individual freedom and willing participation, and the need to get things done.

It need hardly be said that in no case does the educational planner find himself dominating the political scene like a philosopher-king. His most realistic hope is so to use his political skills as to influence the government. He may succeed in influencing decisions in the national interest; but these decisions will also illustrate the balance between pressure groups which compete to control planning and decisions.

It is often assumed that social and political changes are produced by effective tuition, that by community education programmes new patterns of political behaviour may be taught. But such a programme will be only one factor in complicated social change which flows from the responses of groups and individuals to new situations. There are

certain areas of human behaviour where change will be strongly resisted, for instance, those concerned with eating habits and taboos, traditional land-tenure systems, patterns of marriage, socialization of children, attitudes to family planning, and the like. It is simply a waste of time and money to attempt to change attitudes to these matters without taking account of the other factors affecting social change or bolstering resistances to it. Such attempts merely strengthen political opposition to the education system and even to the government as a whole.

Probably the most effective means of changing attitudes is through facilities and measures which make possible increased involvement in the money economy and in new local institutions. In the new activities, provided that they do not prove to be pointless or promise far more than they eventually offer, new interests will develop to offset and counteract the old. New ways of life and changed moral relationships develop with the consequent adaptations and involvement. New patterns of leadership (with accompanying stress and resistance) appear.

Thus in a changing economy there will be fundamental disagreement in matters of land tenure between the modernists in a matrilineal society, who want their sons to inherit the permanent improvements to land—such as a plantation of tree crops—and the conservatives, who for moral reasons or for self-interest will demand that the system of inheritance, whereby land passes from mother's brother to sister's son, be retained. Attempts to consolidate land holdings into blocks which are manageable for modern agriculture will similarly split the community. Yet change is going on.

In such circumstances a mass education programme aimed to expedite a changed pattern of land tenure may arouse such resistances that it will delay rather than expedite this type of modernization. It may be far preferable to spend the resources on the establishment of local institutions, which facilitate the exchange of ideas between elected representatives, and between the locality and the central government. The alternative, if the government is determined to 'get things done', is to mount a propaganda campaign backed by the threat of force; but this is directly opposed to the values assumed here. In such a case, educational planning based on political judgement will be concerned with the *timing* and *location* of the extension or community education programme—with how soon, and where, there will be sufficient people so committed to change that change may be expedited by an education-action programme.

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C. *Some problems of priority—and some personal opinions*

The priorities one works for will depend on the values for which one stands. But as this writer understands it, the educational planner applying the views of Unesco will be concerned with both individual development and general economic advances, and with conditions best suited to promote peace and security. But in this situation there is no certain guide.

One basic dilemma is both educational and political. Is it better to spread primary education as widely as possible, or to ensure that at all costs the processes of formal education are concentrated sufficiently to produce as soon as possible an indigenous intellectual community? The political answer has generally been a short-term one—to spread primary education, thus satisfying regional demands, while promoting political mobilization to the government. My own opinion is that political development, in the sense of the formation and growth of free institutions and personal liberty, will more likely flow from the emergence of a critical intellectual elite. They could fill the key positions in the public service. They might protect free institutions and offer a bulwark for liberty by their efforts at protecting themselves against central government. They might by criticism restrain its decisions and offer constructive and humane advice. I believe therefore that the educational planner should work towards the following two aims.

First of all, he should try to achieve a balance of primary, secondary and tertiary (especially university) education, even if this must be within a more limited area, rather than for a wider coverage limited mainly to literacy and primary education. It may be preferable to leave whole areas to indigenous education and socialisation rather than to disrupt these merely to promote low-level literacy. The risk in this policy includes the stimulation of movement of the towns for access to schools. This may theoretically be offset by increasing the output and attractions of agriculture through agricultural education. But this must either offer the status of institutional education (following primary education) or raise the questions involved in a 'second strand' of primary education. Moreover, village-oriented education will often have the unintended effect of stimulating movement to towns. But education is only one of the forces promoting urbanization and it is arguable that a wider spread of formal education through such areas increases the drift to the towns. No solution for the pains of urbani-

zation has been found, and few palliatives. Few governments aiming to increase *per capita* incomes will be likely to undertake very heavy expenditure on health and welfare in the new urban suburbs.

This brings me to my second point, that the educational planner should make special studies and plans for the situation in urban areas. Like most other problems affecting the developing countries, the educational ones come to a head in the big towns. Children in the town lose the chance of indigenous education in agriculture and handcrafts, and have frequently forfeited their land rights. While their needs for schooling are greatest, the question is a highly political one, as other regions will resist allocation of limited funds to ensure that all urban children are in school. And the more places available in the urban schools, the greater the incentive for parents to send or bring their children to towns.

Again, the planner finds himself very much at the mercy of political factors. In a developing country there will almost always be a high proportion of children out of school in urban areas. As some countries have shown, a great deal can be done by use of the school facilities two or even three times in one day; but irrespective of the strain on the supply of teachers, this may have the effect of attracting even more families from the villages. A basic problem of the town in the developing country is that schooling does not lead the majority into satisfactory employment. Educational planning thus faces the dilemma for which no effective answer has been found, that what improvement can be made to services in the towns in developing countries tends to attract more people to them, to accelerate social change, and to increase hardship. This is one of the main arguments for emphasis on education which promotes better techniques and consequent higher production in agriculture.

In spite of the special needs of the children divorced from village education, it may be preferable for the planner to give highest priority in towns to community education for urban living, especially in the workers' suburbs and squatter settlements. This is the means of rationalizing the squatter settlement, facilitating its services, organizing its housing, and harnessing community efforts for law and order. Governments may not see the point, but may be persuaded to support such emphasis for political reasons.

One is that politics come to a head in towns—not only in the capital, but also in the provincial towns. Discontent in the rural areas may be frustrated by the 'friction of space' which makes common action

and expression of common interests difficult. But in the towns the exchange of ideas is facilitated, and emotions are easily roused.

Another is that inter-ethnic tensions appear to increase in the early period of town growth. Isolation of the ethnic group in the large town strengthens in-group feeling and the ties with the distant village and linguistic area. The tendency is for inter-ethnic violence to increase.

In colonial towns this has probably involved discharge of interracial tensions against secondary objects. The rulers under colonialism could not be attacked; therefore pent-up anger was discharged against other indigenous or foreign groups. But removal of the settler community from power does not dispose of this problem. The drift to the towns and the number moving from towns to village and back again increases and so does the number of squatter communities in and round the town. Urbanization involves a constant process of movement to and from the town, until the town is 'home' because interests there outweigh village interests. This situation cannot be disregarded in educational planning. High priority has to be given by departments responsible for survey, works, health, labour organizations etc, as well as by departments of education, to urban-oriented extension programmes. Surveyed housing lots with provision of minimal services, but where no housing standards are required for the first buildings, may form the basis for such integrated urban-community development programmes. The educational and other planning should probably pay heed to the need for small ethnic groups to live and work together, and also to the need for daily contact with other ethnic groups in each planned settlement. Establishment of inter-ethnic rapport in towns may set the model for relationships through the nation. Some planning effort in this direction seems essential, and the educational planner should include this high in his order of priorities.

5. Some recapitulation, and comment

The most significant factors to emerge from the preceding section on politics and education may be conveniently summarized as follows.

1. Formal education, used in all countries for the political mobilization of the people, may be perverted so as to achieve little else; or the political content may be adequate only to achieve and ensure a minimum of national cohesion. It may stress the 'national' language, the choice of which may be highly political. The child's

idea of the nation as an entity with a shape of its own is promoted in the school curriculum. The national history is generally interpreted to justify the present. Children learn to think in terms of the national map.

2. There is competition between regions, classes, institutions, political parties, economic interests and persons to control or influence the central government. Each interest group will if possible use educational resources to increase its influence. Where there is lack of a tradition and of public opinion supporting conventions which limit the means used in competition, violence may occur. The only safeguard against disruption of an education policy is probably an acknowledged fairness and competence of the educators and the educational planners. Where governments are so dependent on education for economic advances, the educationist, in his capacity as an expert in the skills which government needs, may sometimes influence political decisions. The decision makers may have to consider his arguments and his plan as political factors.
3. High priority for the production of skilled manpower involves new educational institutions. While this may cost more than sending men overseas for training, the training may be more relevant, and there is less risk of loss of trained persons who may decide to stay overseas. This risk arises from the fact that academic salaries for the most brilliant scholars are fixed by a world market, and a developing nation cannot compete. The most gifted are the most likely to be tempted not to return, and to find highly paid posts elsewhere. These new institutions, whatever their purpose, help to produce the intellectual elite, which may be an important political factor without being directly involved in political competition. The nation will depend on this elite for its impact on the world political order. The government may be restrained where there is an educated group of high prestige. A critically helpful minority (perhaps established in the public service) is helpful to government as well as an obstacle to authoritarian rule. Generally, government will be anxious to win the approval of such people who tend to be opinion makers. They have a power, to which undemocratic governments are especially vulnerable, of calling into question and ridicule false assumptions of the government ideology. They also have the skills to formulate ideals which appeal to the moral principles of the nation at large. They may temper and elevate the political ideology used to build the national loyalty. The hope of an intelligent opposition rests largely

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on them, since their prestige may not easily be destroyed by use of violence. Where they provide the elite of the civil service they should improve the likelihood of continuity in policy. There is a corresponding danger that they may themselves come to support a harsh doctrinaire policy if democratic means of improving welfare fail.

4. The development of an effective bureaucracy, with the processes of selection and promotion based on merit, is essential. But the institutions of higher education tend to serve mainly those parts of the country which have been longest under colonial or other western influence. Here the institutions themselves tend to be located. A merit bureaucracy will thus tend to be recruited from one region of political interaction. Suspicions in the other regions may lead to demands for a representative rather than a merit bureaucracy. This, as recent history indicates, has some profound implications for educational planning and for the future security and peace of the country.

It constitutes an argument for local self-government, equipped with its own public service, which will include educational and other specialist officers selected from its own area, until such time at least as the fears referred to have dissipated. Thus the arguments for and against decentralisation of educational controls have to take political as well as professional and administrative factors into account. The decision will be largely a political one, based on the government's assessment of the need to avoid provoking fear in areas where people believe that they have been unfairly treated. Technical factors involved include the shortage of skilled educators. The single national system is most economical in demands for skilled manpower. But the main reason for centralization is political —to promote national unity.

Administrative education in a developing country is often dominated by the traditions of the former colonial power. Frequently an emphasis on the Weberian model of impersonal and uncommitted bureaucracy is quite unreal in the circumstances, and the result may be an unimaginative continuation of the paternalist traditions of colonial area administration. The developing situation requires emphasis on broad political education—on studies of power, for instance, as much as on the routines of administration, and particularly on methods of stimulating the developmental efforts of the people. Extension or community development work requires qual-

ities in the official which are the direct opposite of those which mark the Weberian bureaucrat. The reconciliation of the development needs in administrative education with the need for proper financial and other controls is a problem which has perhaps not been satisfactorily solved. But it requires a special expertise from the educational planner, and a special commitment to democracy on the part of the government.

5. The educational planner is a product of modern western education. Educational planning is a concept arising from the background of industrial society, and is divorced from the familiale and the religious. However, in developing countries it involves planning to influence the course of social change. Adult and community education are necessary for this, and they involve knowledge and respect for the familiale and the religious. The adjustment is difficult, and the persons who can make it and act effectively are rare.

   In many regions adult and community programmes are all that are practicable, for financial, personnel, and other reasons. In others, they have to take the place which secondary and higher education take where there are better facilities. In such areas it seems at first sight logical that schooling should be geared from the first years to local and community needs. If the national education system is highly centralised this involves two streams—one that is academic, the other non-academic or community-oriented. When, however, government makes decisions about what is best for its people, these decisions may be questioned and resisted. Education on the western model, in the academic stream which leads on to the national or international stage for the few, has high prestige. Parents reject the community stream for their own children, as it seems to offer neither wealth nor fame. The frequent rejection of the mission school when the government school is available is often due to the same cause.

   This probably strengthens the argument for decentralisation of much of the policy-making to local self-governing bodies, with the finance required being provided through grants in aid.

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6. Conclusion

The decisions in an education plan are political in their nature and in their effects. They are decisions about who shall get how much of a limited resource, and when. They affect people in a 'soft' area in human relations—the future of their children.

The educationist generally holds to the values of equal educational opportunity, and of the function of education in developing human potential and personality. This brings him to a dilemma. For if he adheres strictly to these ideals, he becomes politically ineffective. He has to realise the existence of power, and how it must be wielded. Otherwise his plan tends to be a statement of what ought to be done in a political system as he thinks it ought to be done. To be effective he must produce an action plan which can be modified without losing all that he aims for. Otherwise his plan will resemble many of the national constitutions proclaimed with high hopes in the last two decades or so. It will be mainly an assertion of respectability.

On the other hand, the planner without ideals can find himself used mainly as a propagandist and technician by the government of the day. The difficult task is to balance what is best with what is possible. This is also required of the statesman.

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IIEP book list

The following books, published by Unesco/IIEP, are obtainable from the Institute or from Unesco and its national distributors throughout the world:

Educational development in Africa (1969. Three volumes, containing eleven African research monographs)

Educational planning: a bibliography (1964)

Educational planning: a directory of training and research institutions (1968)

Educational planning in the USSR (1968)

Fundamentals of educational planning (full list at front of this volume)

Manpower aspects of educational planning (1968)

Methodologies of educational planning for developing countries by J. D. Chesswas (1968)

Monographies africaines (five titles, in French only: list available on request)

New educational media in action: case studies for planners (1967. Three volumes)

The new media: memo to educational planners by W. Schramm, P. H. Coombs, F. Kahnert, J. Lyle (1967. A report including analytical conclusions based on the above three volumes of case studies)

Problems and strategies of educational planning: lessons from Latin America (1965)

Qualitative aspects of educational planning (1969)

Research for educational planning: notes on emergent needs by William J. Platt (1970)

The following books, produced in but not published by the Institute, are obtainable through normal bookselling channels:

Quantitative methods of educational planning by Héctor Correa
Published by International Textbook Co., Scranton, Pa., 1969

The world educational crisis: a systems analysis by Philip H. Coombs
Published by Oxford University Press, New York, London and Toronto, 1968

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